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From the Phrenological Journal, No. XXXV. (Edinburgh.)

ON THE AMERICAN SCHEME OF ESTABLISHING COLONIES
OF FREE NEGRO EMIGRANTS ON THE COAST OF AFRICA,
AS EXEMPLIFIED IN LIBERIA.

IT is a direct consequence of the ignorance which prevails in society of sound practical principles of human nature and its relations, that, in public affairs, controversy takes the place of deliberation, decision, and action. Till such principles shall be adopted and acknowledged as standards, the schemes and doings of man must, from their first conception to their last consequences, be an inextricable mass of disputation, a chaos of conflicting impulses, feelings, and prejudices. The *business* of the most enlightened legislature is *debate*; and parties marshal themselves for combat, each in its own impregnable position, from no two of which do social and national affairs present an aspect approaching to similarity. In Mr Combe's work on "the Constitution of Man, considered in relation to external objects," which offers the practical philosophy for human guidance which is so lamentably wanted, but which is making its way to an assured prevalence, there is a passage strongly impressed on our mind. "We require only," says Mr Combe, "to attend to the scenes daily presenting themselves in society, to obtain irresistible demonstration of the consequences resulting from the want of a true theory of human nature and its relations. Every preceptor in schools, every professor in colleges, every author, editor, and pamphleteer, every member of parliament, councillor, and judge, has a set of notions of his own, which, in his mind, hold the place of a system of the philosophy of man; and although he may not have methodized his ideas, or even acknowledged them to himself as a theory, yet they constitute a standard to him, by which he practically judges of all questions in morals, politics, and religion; he advocates whatever views coincide with them, and condemns all that differ from them, with as unhesitating dogmatism as the most pertinacious theorist on earth. Each also despises the notions of his fellows, in so far as they differ from his own. In short, the human faculties too generally operate as instincts, exhibiting all the confliction and uncertainty of mere feeling, un-

enlightened by perception of their own nature and objects. Hence public measures in general, whether relating to education, religion, trade, manufactures, the poor, criminal law, or to any other of the dearest interests of society, instead of being treated as one general system of economy, and adjusted each on scientific principles in harmony with all the rest, are supported or opposed on narrow and empirical grounds, and often call forth displays of ignorance, prejudice, selfishness, intolerance, and bigotry, that greatly obstruct the progress of improvement. Indeed, unanimity, even among sensible and virtuous men, will be impossible, so long as no standard of mental philosophy is admitted to guide individual feelings and perceptions. But the state of things now described could not exist, if education embraced a true system of human nature and its relations. If Phrenology be true, it will, when matured, supply the deficiencies now pointed out."

Broad as the satire is, that the affairs of society are as yet a ceaseless controversy, we are sometimes apt, for a moment, to forget this inconvenient fact, to expect exceptions, and too rashly to count upon unanimity in what appear, to us at least, very self-evident propositions for social benefit. We confess we did commit this oversight with regard to the settlement of Liberia. If ever there was a human act which seemed to satisfy all our feelings and faculties, it might have been expected to be the first projection and effective realization of that admirable scheme, whose very essence appeared to us to be brotherly love and peace. In a former number,* we adduced Liberia as an example, unique on the face of the earth, of a community based on peace and Christian good-will; and while we unsuspectingly indulged in a luxurious contemplation of something like a realization, in our own day, of the paramount truth which Phrenology and Christianity have both made plain, that the Creator has connected happiness, social as well as individual, with the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect over the animal propensities, in the mind of man, we did not even glance at the American Association, to which is due the merit of the beautiful experiment, nor dreamed that any friend of justice and mercy could have found a fault in the motives or the acts of that society upon which to hang a censure. We had returned with fresh pleasure to the subject of Liberia,† when investigating the subject of the Negro's capacity for freedom and free labour, and it was after our observations were in types, that we heard that Liberia—yes, even Liberia—was a controversy! that against the American colonizationists, there had risen up certain clamorous and even abusive opponents, who imputed to

* Vol. vii. p. 531.

† Vol. viii. p. 37

them sinister designs, hypocritical professions, mischievous intentions, cowardly fears, oppression, cruelty, treachery, and infidelity! In our then total want of information on the grounds of these astounding accusations, suspecting, from the incredible aggravation of the imputations, that feeling more than intellect was operating, and judging of the American Society by its fruits, we could not believe that so fair a child as Liberia could have such a parentage; and we published our continued approbation, resolving to presume favourably of the Society till irresistible evidence should constrain us to believe the monstrous charges preferred against it.

We have now seen the articles of impeachment, and perused what is called their evidence; and our original surprise at the possibility of accusations at all, is fully equalled by our amazement that, by persons educated above the pitch of a village school, such abject futility, such unqualified drivelling, could have been actually printed and published.

We are struck with the important fact, that the writers against the Liberian scheme, and their followers, are all, as far as we know, what are termed *Immediatists*, in the slavery abolition question;—the “*ruat cælum*” philanthropists, who prefer justice with ruin, to justice without it; who, in America, are rendering more difficult and more distant the slave’s complete deliverance, by embarrassing the legislatures in their views of its safety and certainty; and in England, are fortunately disregarded by a government that has resolved on measures at once more wise, and more efficiently philanthropic. The outcry against the Colonization Society originated in America, and has been echoed on this side of the water, with a disregard of fact, a want of fairness, an absence of logic, and a confusion of thought, in every way worthy of the class of minds which fail to see, in the *sudden* discharge of 800,000 Negroes in the British West Indies, and two millions in the United States, dislocation of the frame of society in those countries, and ruin and misery to the very objects of their misplaced benevolence.

The managers of the impeachment are, a Mr Charles Stuart, the author of a pamphlet published at Liverpool, and a Mr Lloyd Garrison, a pamphleteer in America; and although the antislavery periodicals, the Reporter and Record, have, with little credit to their discernment, joined in the clamour, they have pinned their faith to Messrs Stuart and Garrison, and produced nothing beyond extracts from their pamphlets; while a Mr James Cropper, of Liverpool, writes a letter to Mr Clarkson, in which, after several sweeping and unsupported averments, abusive epithets, and much matter, of no application to the subject, he concludes with recommending Mr Stuart’s pamphlet, to which his letter is printed as a sort of pre-

face. This pamphlet is called "Prejudice Vincible, or the Practicability of conquering Prejudice by better means than by Slavery and Exile, in relation to the American Colonization Society." We have read it with all the attention and impartiality in our power, and have been unable to form any other opinion of it than this,—that, while it manifests a marked spirit of special-pleading and unfairness, it fails to substantiate its averments in point of fact, and not less to establish their relevancy to warrant the inferences drawn from them. In other words, it fails to prove the charges against the Society, and if it had succeeded, it would have left untouched the absolute good of the colony of Liberia.

The author quotes the two fundamental articles of the Society's constitution fairly enough.

"1st, The Society shall be called the American Society for colonizing the *Free* People of Colour of the United States.

"2d, The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the *free* people of colour residing in our country, to Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." We regret the alternative as to place, for it tends to weaken the grand argument for the scheme, that it will give a beginning to the civilization of Africa. *De facto*, however, Africa has been chosen, and the reservation, we have reason to think, was a mere deference to Congress, as matter of form.

Mr Stuart, unwilling, it would appear, to trust himself with a moment's charitable reflection on these articles, at once puts the worst construction upon them. "The broad facts of the case," he says, "are these: The whole population of the United States is about 13,000,000. Out of this, upwards of 2,000,000 are held in a most degrading and brutal state of personal slavery, under laws worse than even those of the wretched slave colonies of Great Britain.

"Out of the whole, 330,000, though *free*, are in most cases *only partially so*; and are exposed to an exceedingly malignant and destructive persecution, merely because they have a skin differently coloured from the remaining eleven and a half millions of their fellow-subjects.

"Both these two persecuted classes are rapidly increasing. Their increase terrifies the slave party, and fills them with anxious musings of danger.

"The glaring contradiction of a *free* people being a *slave-holding* people; of eleven or twelve millions of men, calling themselves the most free in the world, keeping upwards of 2,000,000 of their unoffending fellow-subjects in the most abject and degrading slavery, affects many, and urges them to seek a remedy. The word of God stands out before others, and bids them

blush and tremble at the guilt and danger of their country ; while the smothered cry of the oppressed and unoffending poor rises incessantly to God against her.

“ From this state of things it was that the American Colonization Society arose ; by this state of things it is that the American Colonization Society subsists. It is agreeable to the slave-master, for it calms his fears. It offers a *remedy* to the man who mourns over the dishonour and inconsistency of his country ; and to the man who fears God, it commends itself by pretending to do all that it can for the unoffending poor.”

Bold averment, and utter irrelevancy to the question, “ are alike conspicuous in what we have quoted.” The author proceeds : “ The views of its advocates are frankly expressed in its own constitution, as above quoted, and in its own *reports*. I refer to them all, particularly to the three last, 13th, 14th and 15th, and submit from *them* the following quotations.”

Before giving the quotations, we beg to premise, that we have perused the 13th, 14th and 15th Reports alluded to, and we have not found the passages in these reports. On reading the matter published with the reports, we have found them forming parts of the speeches of members of the Society, which, as such, have been printed in the *res gesta* of their meetings, without being imputable to the Society. It became Mr Stuart to have candidly stated, that he took his quotations from the speeches of individuals over which the Society had no control, and not from its reports, by which alone it should be judged of. This was due to his readers, that at least they might have so important a distinction before them, and its omission, which could not be accidental, is an example of that unfair partialism with which we have charged the writer.

The passages are,

“ 1. 13th Report, page 44 :—The present number of this unfortunate, degraded, and anomalous class of inhabitants cannot be much short of half a million, and the number is fast increasing. They are emphatically a mildew upon our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain upon our escutcheon. To remove them is mercy to ourselves, and justice (!!!) to them.”
 15th Report, page 24 :—“ The race in question were known, as a class, to be destitute, depraved, the victims of all forms of social misery. The peculiarity of their fate was, that this was not their condition by accident or transiently, but inevitably and immutably, whilst they remained in their present place, by a law as infallible in its operation as any of a physical nature ?”
 In same 15th Report, page 25 :—“ What is the free black to the slave ? A standing, perpetual excitement to discontent. The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but

for the free black; he would have as little to habits of degradation, his next strongest tendency, but from the same source of deterioration !!! In getting rid, then, of the free blacks, the slave will be saved from the chief occasions for suffering, and the owner from inflicting severity."

"2. 15th Report, page 26:—If none were drained away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant, &c. &c. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was *open butchery* to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the helots; or *general emancipation and incorporation*, as in South America; or *abandonment of the country by the masters* *?" Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe; could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? "There was but one way, and it was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase*, beyond the occasion of profitable employment, &c. &c. This drain was already opened." The *African Repository*, vol. 7, page 246, says, "Enough, under favourable circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years, *if young females were encouraged to go*, to keep the whole coloured population in *check* !!!" How dreadful thus coolly to rend asunder the sexes which were made to be each other's mutual strength and solace through earth's dangerous pilgrimage!! And in page 232, anticipating within two generations a result of forty whites to one black, it declares that all uneasiness would then be at an end.

"3. In 14th Report, pages 12 and 13:—And the slaveholder, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and public action can flow on, without doing violence to *his rights*! The closing of this channel might be calamitous to the slaveholder beyond his conception; for the stream of benevolence that now flows so innocently in it, might then break out in forms even far more disastrous than abolition societies and all their kindred and ill-judged measures."

Report of Pennsylvania Colonization Society for 1830, page 44.—"The Society proposes to send, not one or two pious members of Christianity into a foreign land, but to transport *annually, for an indefinite number of years*, in one view of its scheme, 6000; in another, 56,000 missionaries (!!) of the descendants of Africa itself, to communicate the benefits of our

* "In contemplating these alternatives, how can we sufficiently admire the goodness of God in having provided that the increase of slaves shall *necessarily* lead to emancipation and incorporation! and how can we be sufficiently struck with horror at the deliberate and insolent cruelty of man, in *deriving* schemes like this for the perpetuation of slavery!—J. C."

This scrap of pure nonsense is a specimen of Mr Cropper.

religion, and of the arts. And *this colony of missionaries,*" &c. That is, *six or fifty-six thousand of the degraded and anomalous wretches* who are said to be a *mildew* upon the fields of America, and a scourge to the backs, and a stain upon the escutcheon of the white people of the United States, are to be transformed annually, by transportation to Africa (*with their own consent*), into an *army of missionaries*, communicating the *benefits of religion* and the *arts* !!!

Now, suppose the very worst meaning to be given to the words of these speakers, as *picked out* by Mr Stuart, without giving us the benefit of context, we would ask, if it is to be endured, that a Society professing benevolence, and *acting* benevolently, shall be condemned because some of its members, in speeches at its meetings, discover and avow that the benevolent scheme may be made at the same time to answer a selfish interest? The notion is preposterous. But we have read the *whole* speeches, and are satisfied that their spirit was throughout benevolent both to the free Negroes, and also to the slaves,—slavery existing,—and the very reverse of that hard-hearted selfishness, which Mr Stuart obviously intends to fasten upon the speakers, or rather on the Society, by culling and arranging for effect, isolated, and as they stand alone, equivocal passages.

But the utter want in the Author's mind of the power of perceiving the relation of necessary consequence, is exposed by his drawing from any thing he has quoted of these speeches, conclusions condemnatory of the Colonization Society. It is most true that the evils stated in them exist in America; and existed long before colonization was thought of; and equally true that that measure will do its own share of good without increasing those evils; if it shall not, as we take it is demonstrable it will, materially alleviate, and, it may be, ultimately cure them. The utmost contemplated by the speakers, is the separation of the white and black population of the United States; and they welcome a means that shall tend to this beneficial end, and moreover, improve the Negro's condition, physically and morally. Let us look this misrepresented policy of separation more narrowly in the face, and try it by the principles of a sound philosophy, which will ever be found in accordance with genuine rational religion.

Even Mr Stuart will grant to us, that the actual existence of some millions of blacks in the same community with the whites of the United States, is in itself an enormous political and moral evil. That the black population is, *de facto*, an inferior caste, which, with many individual exceptions, no doubt, is generally degraded, uneducated, and in many instances vicious and depraved; and if it be a scourge to America, the punishment is

the natural result of a daring violation by man of a marked appointment of God,—a just retribution for the avarice, rapacity and cruelty that for ages outraged nature, by tearing the African from the region and the climate for which his Creator had fitted his physical constitution, and mingling him with a race with which incorporation was not designed, if a strong natural repugnance to it is to be received as proof of the Divine intention.

It is wild fanaticism to call this repugnance unchristian, and to denounce a doubt of the power of religion to overcome it as infidelity ;—*because* God made all men of one flesh, and Christianity bids us open wide the arms of brotherly love, and take all our brethren of mankind to our bosom. It is a stupid perversion of this religious precept to maintain, that the fulfilment of this duty precludes all change of the Negro's place of residence, and that the American does not in effect hold out to him the arms of brotherly love, by placing him in independence, comparative elevation, and abundance, in another country, instead of degradation and destitution where he is. God made all men of one flesh, but he did not design them all to live in one country, and, however various and unsuitable their aspect and nature, to mix and incorporate. If we look at that well marked and vast peninsula called Africa, we find that equally marked race the Negro, with slight modifications, forming its native population throughout all its regions. We find the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, the very texture of his wool-like hair, all fitting him for the vertical sun of Africa; and if every surviving African of the present day who is living in degradation and destitution in other lands for which he was never intended, were actually restored to the peculiar land of his peculiar race, in independence and comfort, would even Mr Stuart venture to affirm that Christianity had been lost sight of by all who had in any way contributed to such a consummation? It matters not to brotherly love on which side of the Atlantic the Negro is made enlightened, virtuous and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it does matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is only one where he will be as happy and respectable as benevolence would wish to see him, and certainly there a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed. The incurable evil of the present relation of the whites and the blacks in America is, that incorporation is almost morally impossible. The whites are too numerous in both the sexes, to be driven to intermarriage with the Negroes. Mulattoes are a West Indian, greatly more than an American phenomenon. The distinction in the United States is white or black,

with little of the intervening shades of colour. The races do not and will not incorporate. Try the loudest advocate for the "vincibility" of this prejudice, as it is most unphilosophically called, with this touchstone,—“marry the Negresses to your sons, and give your daughters to Negroes,”—and we shall have a different answer from Nature than we receive from a misplaced religious profession.

If there be the barrier of natural repugnance to the actual incorporation of the blacks with the whites, it is equally hopeless to preach, as a religious duty, the conquest of prejudice to the effect of elevating the Negro to social equality with the white,—for this, too, is required by the anticolonizationists. The dominant relation of the white to the Negro has not varied during more than two centuries of intercourse. It was natural from this to infer constitutional inferiority in the Negro race, which, as an average character, was not generally elevated by the occasional appearance of an Ignatius Sancho, or other Negroes of superior talents and force of character. Phrenology confirms this decision. It demonstrates that brain is the visible title, the material charter of the ownership of mind. When it is of large volume, both in the intellect and the feelings, there is a moral force as inseparable from it as light from the sun, and minds manifested by smaller brains yield to it an homage which they have no power to withhold. The influence of the man over the boy,—of the schoolmaster over a numerous school, is not muscular but cerebral strength; for, in the first, he would be outdone by the united force of his pupils. The large brain of Europe controls the small brain of India by an irresistible moral influence, while the total Indian muscle is to the British as three thousand to a unit. A native once asked an English gentleman how it came to pass that 30,000 Europeans could subject and keep in subjection 100,000,000 of natives, when, if each native only threw a slipper upon their masters, they never would be heard of again? The moral force of large brain has mastered India, and is in the course of meliorating its condition. We had occasion, as already said, to compare the Negro with the European brain in a former number *, and stated it as a phrenological fact, that the white is not only endowed with a larger volume, but with a better organization of brain than the Negro, so that the first has not only more power, but that power fitted for a superior intellectual and moral direction. Now a fact in nature is another word for the Creator's will. When mixed, the white and Negro *must* stand to each other in the relation of a superior and inferior race, with all the injurious effects of such a relation on both. It is therefore in vain to make an ig-

* Vol. viii. p. 87.

norant appeal to Christianity, and denounce this fact as a sin in those who are sufficiently enlightened to observe it. Man must do his part, before he raises his voice to heaven. The Creator did not intend the two races to people the same country, where the one must rule, and the other submit, in their respective degrees of constitutional power. Man produced this anomalous condition, and, therefore, his first duty is to do his utmost to remedy the mighty mischief he has perpetrated, to remove the temptation to the sin of domination over a weaker brother, by restoring him to the condition for which he was created, instead of making vain efforts to do him justice in circumstances where it is morally impossible, and where it is, therefore, an inconsistency to make it a point of religious duty. It is here that we find well-meaning, but over-zealous religionists, erring most widely. They hold practically, though they do not say so, that nature is not of God, and thence they reject all aid from any manifestation of God but what *they* call his Word, which they are in constant danger for that very reason, as is done in the question before us, to misinterpret and misapply.

We do not mean to affirm that this distinction is immutable, and that in the lapse of ages the African brain may not improve, as there are grounds for concluding the European has done in the most favourable circumstances for such melioration; but it is impossible to conceive worse circumstances than those of a despised, neglected, and degraded caste, mingled yet unincorporated with a naturally dominant and greatly more numerous population.

Independent, therefore, of the indisputable abomination of slavery,—the real blot on America's escutcheon,—the existence of half a million of Negroes, and, were slavery abolished, of above two millions, whom nature destined to people Africa, and man has violently transported to America, is, we repeat, an enormous political and moral evil; and it will be a scourge to the American's back, which will goad him and his children, and his children's children, long after he has laid down his own. Now, before the American citizen resolves to break down a golden bridge for a retiring enemy,—to close a path, however narrow, by which the African may, *if he wills*, return to the country and climate of his race,—to reconsign to the desert jungle, and its wild beasts, a fertile cultivated spot, inhabited by a civilized, religious, and moral community, ready to receive the African with the welcome of citizenship, and, for the rags of oppression, proscription, and persecution, to put on him the ring and the robe of a higher morality, and give him the elevated consciousness of independence and character,—before the American, we repeat, shall resolve to say no to all this, he must demonstrate that

the Negro race *can*, in a reasonable course of generations, find in America, what they have never yet done, any thing that deserves the name of a country. This is to us the question, in comparison with which all the other points so much dwelt upon, shrink into insignificance.

It is, to the high moral view which we take of the question, matter of moonshine whether the American slave-owner is relieved or not of the incitement to insubordination in his slaves, which is dreaded from the spectacle of a wretched, despised, and destitute free-coloured population, existing among them, — another of the evils which a speaker thought Liberia would cure, and which expectation Mr Stuart calls a set-purpose to perpetuate slavery. Accustomed as we are to confide in the onward march of the supremacy of the Moral Sentiments and Intellect, the key-stone of our Ethics, we expect the annihilation of slavery all over America, by the fiat of her legislatures, and the acclamations of her people, on far higher compulsion than the wretched fear of a redundant coloured population. When we really come to the great question of slavery abolition, Liberia, *per se*, as it has hitherto operated, will be but a fly on the wheel of *that* mighty revolution. If it operates at all, we say it operates towards facilitating abolition, and not perpetuating slavery. But, alas! if two thousand settlers is the amount of colonization in eleven years, when would the “*drain*,” as it is called, begin to be felt, which is to raise the slaves’ marketable value,—remove the slave-owner’s fears,—encourage him to perpetuate his tyrannies,—and harden his heart that he will not let the oppressed go. Confident that slavery will be abolished in the United States, whether the Liberian drain be great or small, through causes altogether unconnected with that drain, we grudge embarrassing that great question with one which has independent benefits in its train; and we hold the Liberian plan to be so excellent in its essence absolutely, that we would hail its enlargement to ten thousand times its present extent. But when we consider the difficulties which retard its enlargement, —when we view its present insignificant operation in any way, the loud denunciation of it by Mr Stuart and by his echoes seems to us utterly insane.

One of the speakers whose words are quoted, asks most unnecessarily, and because of the atrocious alternative alluded to, in very bad taste, “Was open butchery to be resorted to?” A child just beginning to read would see that the speaker was assuming that such a course was morally impossible; yet Mr Stuart gives the words the emphasis of italics, as if the speaker had recommended *that* mode of diminishing the free coloured population of the United States! This gross perversion has

been eagerly seized by the enemies of Liberia, transferred in all its deformity into the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and the Anti-Slavery Record, and imputed not merely to the speaker, whose meaning has been purposely reversed, but to the whole American Colonization Society !

The speaker whose words are quoted from pages xii. and xiii. * of the Appendix of the Fourteenth Report, disclaims interference with the slave-owner's *rights*, while he would open a channel to his benevolence. Now, what person endowed with a fair portion of intellect can fail to see, and, with an average conscientiousness, to acknowledge, that the rights here spoken of are merely the conventional rights of two centuries' standing in America? And what grown man of practical sense will not say, that the Society did right to declare their non-interference with this question, when they could do all the good they contemplated without it. Nothing they do will obstruct, or even retard, the great measure which is destined to put the question of right on its proper moral footing. Yet their avoidance of that question is called acknowledgment of the slaveholder's right. If this is merely bad logic, we should not be disposed to visit it with the same measure of censure, as would be its due if it is deliberate perversion.

The 6000, or 56,000 missionaries, it matters not which number, is a mere hyperbole of over-zeal in the friends of the Colonization scheme. We rather look to the moral and religious improvement which the great majority of emigrants are to find in Liberia, than to take thither. Nevertheless, we would say, educate them as extensively as you can before sending them, and by all means send your most intelligent and moral individuals first, in order to lay that municipal foundation which will render it safe and beneficial to colonize more numerous and indiscriminately afterwards. But all that emigrate are missionaries to a certain extent, as they are more or less civilized and religiously instructed, and fitter for usefulness in the colony than the tribes which unite with it in Africa.

We had written some pages upon Mr Stuart's yet farther amplifications of the few ideas which his meagre pamphlet contains, and on what he calls farther proofs, still consisting of isolated passages from the speeches of individuals, and from the African Repository. We shewed what he calls his evidence to be insufficient, and his statements, even if proved, to be irrelevant ; but in consideration of our readers, and as we found that we only repeated the answers we have already made, we have not sent them to press.

* We refer to the passage by the proper Roman numerals of prefatory matter, which Mr Stuart does not.

Mr Stuart tells us that the American black population itself is hostile to the colonization scheme. He says, p. 14, that the coloured people are "writhing under the colonization process." This is the exaggeration of special-pleading. No one writhes under an invitation which he is perfectly free to refuse. Nevertheless, we have meetings of the free-coloured people, passing resolutions,—far above Negro literature, and evidently all the work of one pen,—invoking their household gods, and obtesting the tremendous and atrocious scheme of *tearing* them from their native land and the homes of their fathers, &c. ! We have no manner of doubt that these absurd and uncalled for exhibitions are got up by the enemies of the colonization plan, and a weak invention they are. The reports of the society are full of evidence of the popularity of the colony with the people of colour, and record many instances of their eagerness to emigrate in greater numbers than the means of the society enable it to permit. The testimony of the settlers is daily spreading and increasing the attractions of the colony to the black population in every part of the United States.

With Mr Lloyd Garrison we really need not trouble our readers. He is a type of Mr Stuart, or Mr Stuart of him, the chronology of the pamphlets being of no moment, or the question which has saved the other original thinking. Mr Garrison distorts meanings—fastens the speeches of individuals on the society—quotes partially—conceals explanations—exaggerates, clamours, and cants, exactly as Mr Stuart does ; while the answer of irrelevancy, were every word they speak true, applies equally to both.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 102, has not only, as we formerly observed, copied the unfairnesses of Stuart and Garrison, but has made an addition of its own in the very worst spirit of these pamphleteers. It observed that a Mr Broadnax had made an absurd and unfeeling speech in the Virginia House of Delegates, in proposing a bill for the *forcible* removal of the free Negroes from that State ; and although the bill was of course rejected, the Reporter holds out Mr Broadnax's insane proposal, as serving "to illustrate the spirit of the colonization leaders !" The next words in the Reporter, differently applied, we adopt, and apply to its conductors themselves : "This is really too bad !"

Mr Stuart thought proper to impugn an account given of Liberia in the organ of the Peace Society, called the Herald of Peace, and addressed a letter to the editor of that periodical, which has brought from him "a Vindication" of the Society and their colony, itself sufficient to annihilate Mr Stuart in the controversy. We allude to that paper for the sake of deriving from

it an important aid to our own vindication. Mr Stuart, in his letter to the editor of the *Herald of Peace*, makes admissions, by which, as the lawyers say, he admits himself out of court: He says, “But is there nothing good, then, in the American Colonization Society? Yes, there is,—1st, For Africa it is good. It interrupts the African slave trade within its own limits; and the least interruption to that nefarious traffic is an unspeakable good. 2d, For the few coloured people who prefer leaving their native country and emigrating to Africa, it is unquestionably a great blessing. 3d, To the slaves, whose slavery it has been, or may be, the means of commuting into transportation, it is a blessing, just in as far as transportation is a lesser evil than slavery; and this is by no means a trifling good. 4th, But its highest praise, and a praise which the writer cordially yields to it, is the fact, that it forms a new centre; whence, as from our Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, civilization and Christianity are radiating through the adjoining darkness. In this respect, no praise can equal the worth of these settlements.” After this declaration in favour of all that he had denounced, we should think we *ought* to hear no more of Mr Stuart.

For ample evidence of both the salubrity of the climate for Negroes,—though not for Whites,—and its growing prosperity, down to September last, we must refer to the Society’s Reports, and other publications on Liberia*.

It will naturally occur to the reader to ask, How is this settlement countenanced, which is thus opposed? In America, the scheme has been hailed all over the Union, by the most eminent and patriotic statesmen, by the clergy of all denominations, by men of science and men of business; and the Society, which was formed 1st January 1817, presents a most encouraging array of their names. We read among these the names of Monroe, Madison, Marshall, Jefferson, Bishops White and Meade, La Fayette, Carroll of Carrollton†, Buhsrod Washington, Henry Clay, Webster, Mercer, Frelinghuysen, and many other names of statesmen, patriots, and philosophers. Auxiliary Societies have been formed in almost all the free states, and in several of those where slavery is yet unabolished. We have seen a letter from the Bishop of Virginia, Bishop Meade—a name which carries the greatest weight all over the Union—addressed to Mr Elliott Cresson, the zealous agent of the colonization scheme, now engaged in enlisting British sympathies in its favour. We wish

* There is an interesting account of Liberia, we hear about to be in second edition, published by Waugh & Innes, Edinburgh; and Whittaker & Co. London.

† Lately deceased at the age of ninety-six, the last survivor of those who signed the declaration of independence in 1776.

we had space for it, because it takes our own view of the evil of the mixture of a white and black population, and welcomes a benevolent plan for their separation. In England, the name of Wilberforce, who has decidedly approved the plan, is itself a tower of strength; and the venerable Clarkson, too, has lived to see and applaud it in the strongest terms. With every friend to Africa and the African, he wonders at the opposition, and (we have seen his words) imputes it to some demon's intervention.

Mr Cresson has been eighteen months in England. He is a gentleman of independent fortune, and, actuated by the purest philanthropy, is zealously preaching the cause to the British people. He has been on the whole well received; and wherever opposed, it has been in the *very words* of Mr Stuart's pamphlet, while his opponents had not read any thing on the other side. In Edinburgh, his reception has been most flattering. At a public meeting to hear his statement, held 8th January 1833, Lord Moncrieff presided, and a number of the most eminent men were present, all of them well versed in the subject. Lord Moncrieff delivered a powerful address, in which he lamented the opposition to the enlightened plan. The Lord Advocate Jeffrey, M. P., concluded an eloquent address, by moving the first resolution, and was seconded by the Rev. Dr Grant*.

“ 1. Resolved, That this meeting view with unmixed satisfaction the establishment of the free and independent settlement of Negroes on the West Coast of Africa, called Liberia, under the patronage of the American Colonization Society,—because they consider it as the most likely means to civilize and christianize the natives of Africa,—to diminish, and ultimately annihilate, the slave trade, by preventing its supply at its source,—and to forward the cause of the abolition of slavery itself, by opening a channel in which benevolence may flow safely, in providing for the emancipated Negro an asylum and a country, in a region and climate for which his physical constitution is peculiarly fitted.”

The second was moved by Mr Simpson, advocate, in the unavoidable absence of the Solicitor-General Cockburn, who had zealously undertaken it, and seconded by Mr Wardlaw Ramsay: “ 2. That this meeting are disposed to welcome a plan, which, with a due regard to the free-will, rights, and feelings of both the black and white population, tends to commence the cure of the evil of slavery itself, by re-establishing the African in possession of every social and political right in the land of his ancestors.”

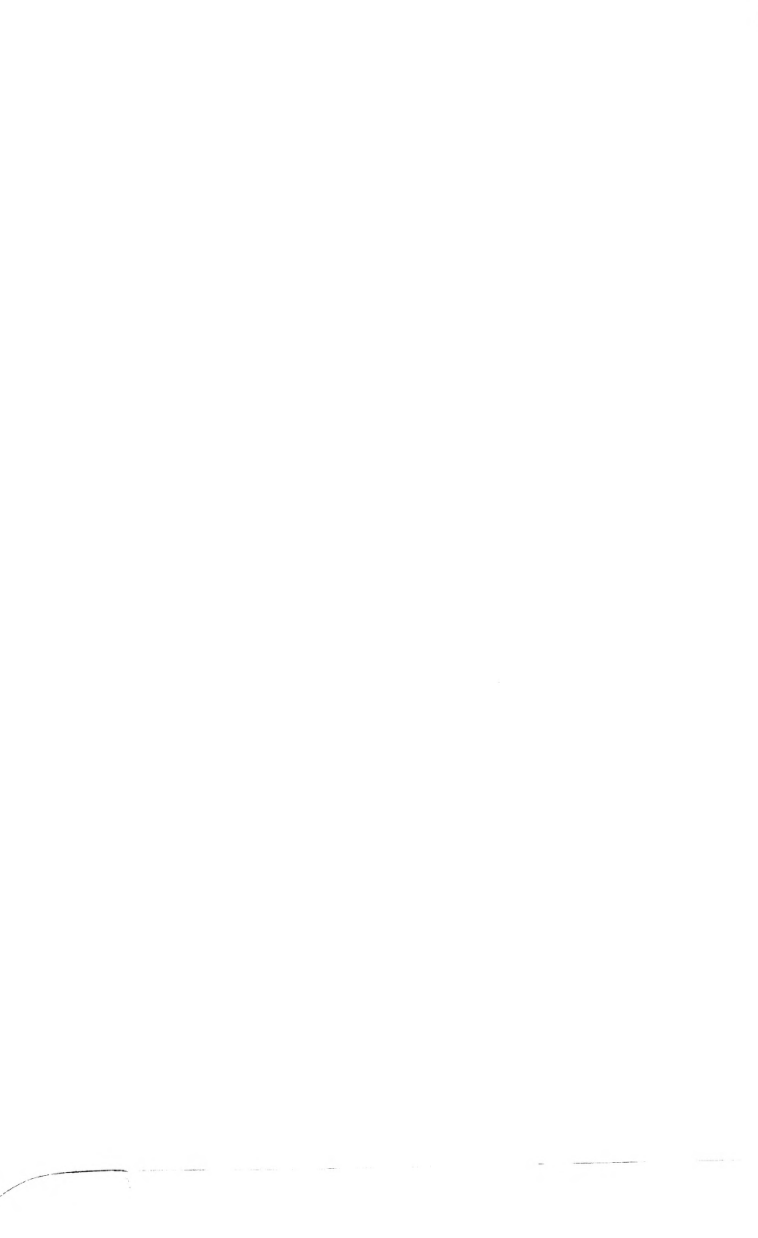
* Men of all shades of politics were present and concurring. A committee of correspondence was named, a collection made, and subscription papers lodged at all the banks, &c. Mr Simpson, Advocate, undertook to act as Secretary; and Mr Cresson has since signified, that the funds, if sufficient, should be allotted to the establishment of an additional settlement at the mouth of one of the five rivers between Monrovia, the Liberian capital, and Sierra Leone, to which the name of *Edina* should be given. The rivers are the only slaving stations.



And the third was moved by Mr J. A. Murray, M. P., and seconded by Mr Farquhar Gordon : " 3. That this meeting highly approve of the principles and motives of the American Colonization Society, and applaud the judicious course which they have followed, in doing all the direct good in their power, while they carefully avoid in any way interfering with other existing institutions ; and, in particular, in leaving Anti-Slavery and Negro Education Societies, and the American Legislatures themselves, to pursue their proper course in the great work of justice to the injured sons of Africa." The motives of the American Societies—although held by all the speakers to be unexceptionable—were considered quite secondary to the actual merits of the plan, as standing out prominently in the real colony, with its free trade, its schools, and its churches, and even its newspaper. The sheet of a number, in quarto size, was, with great effect, held up to the meeting ; and another, " grown bigger," as a Negro printer's boy said, " as it grew older," in folio.

With the sentiments of that meeting we cordially join. We heartily approve the American Colonization Society, on the one hand, in their motives, their principles, and their acts, and would cheer them on in their twofold behest of delivering Africa and America from the present diseased and unnatural condition of both, by a plan which tends to put asunder two races of men which God did not join, and whose junction He does not bless, and to establish each, free and erect, the lords of their own continent ; while, on the other hand, and independently of all the possible mixture of motives with which it may be encouraged and supported, we hail the *existence* of Liberia,—a community of Africans, without a white to claim the white's ascendancy, to snatch from his coloured brethren the prizes of life, and blight the freshness of his freedom by the chill of ancient associations and recollections,—a community whose basis is peace, or if war—and it has had its wars, in which it has borne itself nobly—defensive war alone ;—whose principle of commerce is a port without a custom-house, open to the whole world,—whose education is universal,—whose practical code is Christianity.

Last of all, we welcome Mr Cresson to our country, and are glad of the encouraging reception which he has received. Such missions do incalculable good, both to the parent country, and her gigantic offspring in the New World. He comes in all the power of benevolence, before which unsocial feelings fly like the shades of night before the dawn. May his visit tend to enlarge better relations between the two lands than those of jealousies, and taunts, and calumnies, and wars ; and may Liberia itself be a new bond of union between them, in the very spirit of that infant community,—liberty, light, religion, free commerce, brotherly love, and peace.



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